

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02530 101500Z

44

ACTION AF-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05 PC-01 SR-02 ORM-01 /081 W

----- 012473

R 100910Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1034

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 2530

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, WA, SF

SUBJECT: SWAPO LEADER SAM NUJOMA GIVES HIS VIEWS ON NAMIBIA

REF: CAPE TOWN 858

1. SUMMARY. SAM NUJOMA, PRESIDENT OF SOUTHWEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO) CALLED ON AMBASSADOR DEC 9 AT HIS REQUEST. NUJOMA APPEARED HAVE NOTHING PARTICULAR IN MIND BUT STRESSED HIS BELIEF US COULD PLAY ROLE IN HELPING NAMIBIA GAIN SELF-DETERMINATION. NUJOMA EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE DISTRUST OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT (SAG) AND SET FORTH NUMBER OF REASONS WHY HE BELIEVES VORSTER INSINCERE IN HIS STATEMENTS ABOUT SELF-DETERMINATION FOR TERRITORY. ASKED IF HE WOULD CONSIDER MEETING WITH SAG REPRESENTATIVES TO TRY DEVELOP NEW FORMULA FOR SELF-DETERMINATION, NUJOMA HESITATED BUT THEN INDICATED HE MIGHT TALK UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS.  
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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02530 101500Z

NUJOMA EXPRESSED PLEASURE WITH EASUM'S KENTUCKY

SPEECH BUT COULD NOT AGREE THAT SAG INDEED WILLING ACCEPT SELF-DETERMINATION WITH ALL OPTIONS OPEN. HE DID AGREE USG COULD HELP BY CLARIFYING POINTS OF VIEW BETWEEN TWO SIDES TO DISPUTE. END SUMMARY.

2. AT FINNISH NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION, SWAPO LEADER SAM NUJOMA ASKED ME FOR AN APPOINTMENT. WE MET FOR HOUR LONG CONVERSATION MONDAY, DEC 9, OUR FIRST REAL SUBSTANTIVE TALK OF SIGNIFICANCE IN TWO YEARS, ALTHOUGH MEETING OFTEN SOCIALLY. HE SEEMED TO HAVE NO SPECIAL PURPOSE OR MESSAGE TO CONVEY, ALTHOUGH REPEATEDLY UNDERLINED HIS BELIEF US COULD PLAY ROLE IN HELPING NAMIBIA GAIN SELF-DETERMINATION. NUJOMA INSISTENTLY CONTENDED SAG IS INSINCERE IN ITS STATEMENTS ABOUT SELF-DETERMINATION IN NAMIBIA. SAID NUMBER OF FACTS ATTESTED TO THIS: STEPPED-UP TROOP EMPLACEMENT OVER PAST MONTHS ALONG ANGOLAN BORDER ("WHICH SAG HOPES TO SEAL OFF"), IMPRISONMENT OF LIBERATION LEADERS, CLOSING OF MEDICAL AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES TO BLACKS, TORTURE AND DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS. AS RESULT NUJOMA VOWED SWAPO WILL RESORT INCREASINGLY TO USE OF ARMS AND MEET FORCE WITH FORCE. EVEN IF IT TAKES NEXT TWENTY YEARS AND "EVEN IF OUR CHILDREN MUST CARRY ON FIGHT FROM EXILE WHERE WE ARE EDUCATING THEM."

3. NUJOMA SAID SAG HAS ESTABLISHED TEN NEW BASES ALONG ANGOLA BORDER IN ADDITION TO EXISTING BASES IN CAPRIVI STRIP SUPPLIED FROM LARGE MILITARY DEPOT AT GROOTFONTEIN. AREA BETWEEN TEN BASES TO BE PARTOLLED BY MOUNTED CAVALRY AND REINFORCED BY HELICOPTERS, TANKS AND ARMED PERSONNEL CARRIERS.

4. NUJOMA SPOKE WITH EMOTION ABOUT CLOSURE IN OCT OF ANGLICAN ODIBO MISSION HOSPITAL FROM WHICH BISHOP WINTER HAD BEEN DEPORTED. HOSPITAL REPORTEDLY CARED FOR OVER 100,000 PEOPLE, MOSTLY BLACKS WHO SHARE SWAPO'S HOPES FOR INDEPENDENCE. ONLY ALTERNATIVE FOR MEDICAL CARE IN AREA IS SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL WHERE NUJOMA CLAIMS ANY BLACKS KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN IN OPPOSITION TO GOVERNMENT OR ENGAGED IN LIBERATION ACTIVITIES ARE ALLOWED TO BLEED TO DEATH. CLAIMS THIS BASED ON TESTIMONY  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 LUSAKA 02530 101500Z

OF FORMER NURSES AT ODIBO WHO HAVE FLED TO EXILE IN ZAMBIA.

5. NUJOMA BRANDED AS UNTRUE SOUTH AFRICAN CLAIMS THAT SWAPO HAS LIMITED FOLLOWING. SAID SWAPO HAS SUPPORT FROM MANY PEOPLE FROM CAPRIVI STRIP IN NORTH TO SOUTHERN-MOST TIP OF NAMIBIA. CLAIMS SWANU AND BASTER VOLKSPARTEI ARE "WITH US IN SPIRIT." MOREOVER, NUMBER OF REFUGEES IN ZAMBIA SAID TO BE INCREASING

WEEKLY AND NOW STANDS AT AROUND 3,000. NUMBER OF YOUNG CHILDREN HAS QUADRUPLD TO 200 AND UN SUPPLYING TEACHERS WHILE SWEDEN HAS JUST AGREED TO BUILD NEW SCHOOL. NUJOMA MADE COUNTER-CHARGE THAT PUPPET HOMELAND'S LEADERS WHOM SAG HAS NOMINATED HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO FOLLOWING; IN FACT, MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN FAMILIES, ESPECIALLY CHILDREN, HAVE LEFT THEIR PARENTS IN DISGUST AND ARE IN ZAMBIA.

6. NUJOMA REAFFIRMED THAT SWAPO WILL NOT RPT NOT TAKE PART IN OVAMBO LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ELECTIONS NEXT JAN, NOR IN ANY MULTI-RACIAL TALKS WHICH SAG PLANNING. BOTH ARE DECEPTIVELY STAGED TO GIVE FALSE IMPRESSION OF DEMOCRACY; ACTUALLY SAG BENT ON DIVISION OF PEOPLES OF NAMIBIA ALONG ETHNIC, TRIBAL AND BANTUSTAN LINES WHEN NAMIBIA, AS RHODESIA AND ANGOLA, DESPERATELY NEED UNITY AMONG MAJORITY.

7. I ASKED NUJOMA IF HE HAD SOME NEW FORMULA WHICH COULD OVERCOME OBJECTIONS HE HAS TO SAG PROPOSALS. WOULD HE OR HIS REPRESENTATIVES BE WILLING TO MEET WITH SAG REPRESENTATIVES TO TRY AND DEVELOP NEW FORMULA?

8. AT FIRST NUJOMA THOUGHT IT SENSELESS TO EVEN CONSIDER DISCUSSIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICANS BECAUSE POINTS OF VIEW SO VERY FAR APART. NUJOMA RECALLED EFFORTS BY SWAPO NATIONAL CHAIRMAN DAVID MERORO TO EXPLAIN SWAPO POLICIES IN NAMIBIA. SAG RESPONSE WAS TO IMPRISON MERORO WHO NOW OUT ON BAIL WITH COURT TRIAL SET FOR NEXT JAN. HOWEVER, AFTER MORE DISCUSSION NUJOMA SAID HE WOULD BE WILLING TO TALK TO SAG REPRESENTATIVES UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS MOSTLY CONCERNING NAMIBIA: CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 LUSAKA 02530 101500Z

IF SAG REMOVED ITS BAN ON POLITICAL PARTIES; ALLOWED FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION; RELEASED POLITICAL PRISONERS (MENTION OF ROBBER ISLAND); WITHDRAWS ITS TROOPS; STOPPED BUILDING CONCENTRATION CAMPS; AND ABANDONED POLICE STATE TACTICS. NUJOMA WOULD NOT CONSIDER GOING TO PRETORIA FOR TALKS AND COULD AGREE TO NAMIBIA AS LOCUS ONLY IF SWAPO FORCES WERE ALLOWED IN TO GUARANTEE SAFETY OF ITS REPRESENTATIVES. AFTER REFLECTION NUJOMA THOUGHT THAT LUSAKA, OR SOME OTHER NEUTRAL AFRICAN PLACE, MIGHT BE MORE SUITABLE SITE FOR TALKS.

9. IT QUITE EVIDENT THAT NUJOMA SIMPLY DOES NOT TRUST SAG AND RECIPROCATES VORSTER'S PERSONAL ANTI-PATHY. HE MENTIONED "TRICKERY" IN SAG DEALINGS WITH UN REPRESENTATIVES AND HE FEELS SAG MAY ONLY BE

HELPING ON THE RHODESIAN SITUATION IN ORDER EVENTUALLY TO MOVE ITS TROOPS OUT OF RHODESIA AND INTO NAMIBIA. NUJOMA KEPT RETURNING TO THEME THAT SWAPO PROBABLY HAS NO OTHER RECOURSE BUT TO FIGHT IN ORDER TO BRING SAG TO ITS SENSES.

10. SEVERAL TIMES DURING CONVERSATION NUJOMA SAID THAT NOTWITHSTANDING SAG PROPAGANDA TO DIVIDE RACES, SWAPO BEARS NO HATRED TOWARD WHITES WHO HAVE ALSO BEEN REPRESSED TOGETHER WITH BLACKS IN NAMIBIA. SAID IF WHITES WANTED TO STAY IN NAMIBIA AFTER INDEPENDENCE THEY COULD.

11. I GAVE NUJOMA COPY OF EASUM'S KENTUCKY SPEECH AND DREW HIS ATTENTION TO SECTION ON US POLICY ON NAMIBIA. IT PLEASED HIM VERY MUCH, PARTICULARLY PART ON FINDING FORMULA FOR PROMPT AND PEACEFUL SELF-DETERMINATION WITH ALL OPTIONS OPEN. NUJOMA REITERATED THAT SAG MUST GIVE PROOF THROUGH ACTIONS. AGREED THAT USG COULD HELP BY CLARIFYING POINTS OF VIEW BETWEEN TWO SIDES TO DISPUTE.

12. NUJOMA LEAVES LUSAKA THIS WEEK FOR CAIRO, ALGIERS AND UNSPECIFIED DESTINATIONS IN EUROPE. WE ASSUME HE WILL BE CAMPAIGNING FOR MILITARY AND OTHER ASSISTANCE TO GAIN MUSCLE IN SUPPORT OF HIS DETERMINATION TO TOUGH IT OUT. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 05 LUSAKA 02530 101500Z

13. COMMENT: FOR USUN: WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING WHAT, IF ANY, FORMULAE OR OPTIONS ARE BEING STUDIED AS POSSIBLE PROPOSALS TO GET SAG MOVING IN DIRECTION OF UNITARY STATE WHICH WOULD GO SOME WAY TOWARD MEETING DEMANDS OF SELF-DETERMINISTS LIKE NUJOMA.

FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN: CAN YOU CONFIRM ALLEGATIONS MADE BY NUJOMA (PARA 3 ABOVE) THAT SAG CONSTRUCTING NEW BASES ALONG ANGOLA-NAMIBIAN BORDER? IF THIS REPORT ACCURATE, IT WOULD APPEAR SAG ENGAGED IN FURTHER VIOLATIONS OF ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS AND ART 73 OF UN CHARTER, AS WELL AS ARTS 55 AND 56 OF CHARTER. THIS MIGHT, AS INDICATED JULY 11, 1974 HUFFMAN (L/AF) MEMO TO O'NEILL (AF/S), GIVE US PEG ON LEGAL AS WELL AS PRACTICAL POLITICAL GROUNDS TO COUNSEL SAG AGAINST CONTINUING MILITARIZATION OF NAMIBIA. WILKOWSKI

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## Message Attributes

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